

ONE BIG UNION CLUB

GEORGE CAREY, Sec'y
242 EAST 14TH STREET

New York,..... March 23, 1936.....



Fellow-worker:

Herewith we are sending you a copy of our pamphlet, "Why One Big Union" which we hope will be favorably received by you.

While there will doubtless be many in the working class movement who will disagree with us, still we expect that it will be considered in the proper light.

Another pamphlet is now in the process of printing and will appear shortly.

In case you wish to obtain additional copies we will be pleased to mail them to you at $2\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ a copy in lots of 20 or more.

If there is any other information that we can furnish you regarding the "One Big Union" we shall be very glad to do so.

Hoping that you will assist us in building ONE POWERFUL UNION and ONE ONLY of the whole working class, we remain

With best wishes,

Yours for Industrial Freedom

ONE BIG UNION CLUB

George Carey Secretary

P104020

WHY

ONE

BIG

UNION?

INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY LIBRARY



Published by

ONE BIG UNION CLUB

242 East 14th Street

New York City

Price Five Cents



17

What We Want

By JOE HILL

Tune "Rainbow"

We want all the workers in the world to organize
Into a great big union grand
And when we all united stand
The world for workers we'll demand
If the working class could only see and realize
What mighty power labor has
Then the exploiting master class
It would soon fade away.

Come all ye toilers that work for wages
Come from every land
Join our fighting band
In one union grand
Then for the workers we'll make upon this earth a paradise
When the slaves get wise and organize.

We want the sailor and the tailor and the lumberjack
And the cooks and laundry girls
We want the guy that dives for pearls
The pretty maid that's making curls
And the baker and the staker and the chimney sweep
We want the man that's slinging hash
The child that works for little cash
In one union grand.

We want the tinner and the skinner and the chambermaid
We want the man that spikes on soles
We want the man that's digging holes
We want the man that's climbing poles
And the trucker and the mucker and the hired man
And all the factory girls and clerks
Yes, we want every one that works
In one union grand.

Why the One Big Union Club?

To begin with, we realize that all wage earners must live. All must have access to the means of life. Therefore all have a common interest to bring about security.

Sectional organizations are only interested in the welfare of their respective section of organized workers but not in all. Otherwise they would not so organize but try to organize all. The basis or jurisdiction of an organization tells the story of the purpose or the interests it intends to advance. It is the rock foundation of its philosophy and will inevitably revert to its base always to defend itself against other forces, self preservation being the first law of nature and prerogative.

A Trade Union furthers trade interests for special interests and special privileges. Industrial Unions further industrial interests also for their respective sections and consideration.

A Class Union will further class interests as that is its base and intention. Otherwise no such organism would be required.

If all members of the entire working class are to be protected then we must bring them all into One Union to develop the combined strength of all to be sure all are taken care of, and to make the task comparatively easy, besides to bring the greatest harmony and better understanding among them. Also to have an instrument through which all would get consideration and all can have a voice and take part in the decisions. In a Union there is strength; in a Class Union - class strength. A Class Union has also a potentiality of becoming a new social factor for a new social order. It could do away with exploitation of man by man.

JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES

Jurisdictional disputes arise out of borderlines, by some group trying to embrace additional territory, therefore of necessity infringing upon someone else's jurisdiction. It is the result of expansion policies or programs.

Any organism seeks to maintain itself and also become a greater and greater factor in the industrial, social or political life within a small confine or nation or the world. And in order to become a greater factor must seek for more strength, more power. It cannot stop at its original confine but must enlarge it, reaching out for new territory — sphere of influence — broaden out its jurisdiction over additional forces. Therefore it comes into conflict with other forces that claim prior jurisdiction — hence the dispute or wars according to forces arrayed against each other.

An expansionist policy or program is only possible where new territory can be added to the respective organism.

Whenever all nations are combined under one nation no new territory can be added, then no expansionist policy can be pursued, as the nation would be all inclusive.

Among Labor Unions we are also confronted with jurisdictional disputes over new work — additional work, or over other workers in the trade, over more workers in an industry or additional industries. This policy brings about the labor disputes — Union against Union over jurisdiction. Most unions try to enlarge their membership claiming jurisdiction over members of other unions.

An Industrial Union has a larger jurisdiction than a Trade Union.

It seeks to cover an entire industry. And even here we also find disputes as the Industrial Union needs more strength in order to cope with corporations that own or control all the industries required in changing raw materials into finished articles (products) for the market. Therefore the Industrial Union will also be compelled to enlarge its scope in order to maintain itself against greater forces; hence additional jurisdiction is sought or must be sought.

This process will go on until all workers are in One Union — A Class Union — then the Workers Union will be all inclusive. Whenever this is achieved no new jurisdiction can be gained, consequently jurisdictional disputes also must cease.

An organization starting out to organize all workers irrespective of trade or industry into one union — a Class Union — recognizes no jurisdiction within the class but tends to embrace all from its inception to further the interests of the class as a class. It is done to get greater security and to generate power enough to abolish exploitation of man by man as soon as possible.

Make labor wars impossible by merging and joining into one union — a Class Union — to achieve its goal to security of the means of life to all.

CO-OPERATION AND CO-ORDINATION

The Basic Principles of Union Organization

A union organizes on the basis of self help, self protection, co-operation among and for its membership. It is the very basis of the struggle for life in a collective way. Co-operation is the very essence of collective effort.

The individual worker finds himself too weak in the daily struggle to live, or in the manner he would like to live. Therefore, the next logical step is to try and get strength in one way or another, in order to overcome the obstacles in the way to a better life.

It is necessary to bring large forces together for purposes of co-operation in a big way, to develop such instruments as can accomplish the desired ends. This must be done, whether it be in industry or in the social life. It must be done to protect life in the best possible way and to make life easier — more secure. Co-operation is therefore, the very first principle of union organization. It is based on the principle of self help, self defense, and self reliance in the march of progress.

The Union, by its own decisions, begins to bring about its desires or needs. The decisions are more momentous in accordance with the strength of the organization and the understanding of social forces.

We visualize, when the working class organizes together as a class to co-operate for life's struggle, it will then be equal to and can dominate any situation. It will have sufficient strength then to ward off any interference — no matter from whatever source, nor how great it may appear today. The workers, as stated before, organize to protect themselves; therefore, interference will be resisted to the end in order to accomplish their objective.

A CLASS union can bring about a new social order — A NEW

SOCIETY — by starting at the very bottom — from the very beginning to do things for itself more and more; by building the new social order little by little until finally complete.

The workers through ONE UNION of all workers will learn by experience how best to accomplish their wishes. The union is, therefore, the instrument of the workers. It is the one constructive force — the builder of a better society.

A Union, as stated before, is formed on the basis of self reliance. Therefore it must shape its organization accordingly and adopt policies and methods that can serve its institution best. Otherwise it is at the mercy of others. It would have to depend upon friends.

Friends generally look out for themselves first and let the others go to the devil. They, as a rule, only use you and only help others when convenient and profitable at no cost to themselves. Therefore Labor — the workers — must build its own institution to serve its own defense and advancement and above all on the basis of self reliance.

There must be a democratic or co-operative spirit among all its members; where all its units have a voice and a share in the decisions of its institution. This is essential to getting the greatest co-operation, the greatest freedom that possibly can be obtained. Through the Union, the workers decide for themselves and put into effect and fulfill their desires by themselves.

The Union is the effective instrument of the workers. Through the Union the workers themselves accomplish their objective of today and tomorrow effectively. **IN A CLASS UNION THERE IS STRENGTH — CLASS POWER.**

Organization plus Education equals POWER.

There is no substitute for intelligence, common sense and courage. Intelligence — Understanding of forces and the problems confronting us.

Common Sense — Doing things with understanding and the strength at hand.

Courage — Determination and the will to do.

AN OUTLINE OF A POSSIBLE STRUCTURE FOR A CLASS UNION (Industrial in Structure)

• A Class Union must embrace every member of the class it seeks to organize. A worker's union must, therefore, bring all wage and salary workers within its fold. It must be all inclusive.

When a Class Union, (One Big Union of all Workers) gains a large number of workers it is then confronted with the problem of bringing about a shop organization in industry also known as union control in the shops, mills, mines, farms, etc.

Instead of organizing independent or separate autonomous Trade Unions, One Big Union needs to institute Shop Committees to deal with conditions in the respective shops, mines, etc. This is also proposed by Indus-

trial Unions. In this, a Class Union agrees with Industrial Union concepts as correct.

Several shops in the same or kindred industries should institute the industrial committees instead of the autonomous Industrial Union as promulgated by Industrial Union ideas. In this the One Big Union advocates entirely disagree because it divides the workers according to industry into many unions, and therefore remains organized division.

The concentration of capital into fewer and fewer hands makes it a monopoly capitalism. The Steel Trust, organized over twenty-eight years ago, owns and operates ore mines, railroads, ships, steel mills, coal mines, coke ovens, lumber mills and camps, all to assure uninterrupted raw material to make steel. It even owns and operates it's own steamship line on the high seas to deliver its commodity into far distant world markets.

Henry Ford owns lumber mills, steel plants, coal mines, ore mines, glass factories, railroads and ships as well as numerous smaller industrial plants, also to assure uninterrupted raw material at low cost. Many other examples could be cited.

General Motors, United States Steel, Dupont, Railroad Corporations are all connected together through three big banks, with J. P. Morgan as the pivot.

Yet all Industrial Unionists divide the workers according to certain concepts of narrow, arbitrary industrial lines. As an example: ore miners are placed in an ore miners' industrial union, coal miners into a coal miners' industrial union, steel plant workers into a steel workers' industrial union, seamen into a marine workers' industrial union, etc. etc. even though all these workers are working for one boss, one single corporation for the purpose of producing pig iron and steel, or automobiles and airplanes.

We present herewith a diagram of a One Big Union concept, taking the Steel Trust as an example:

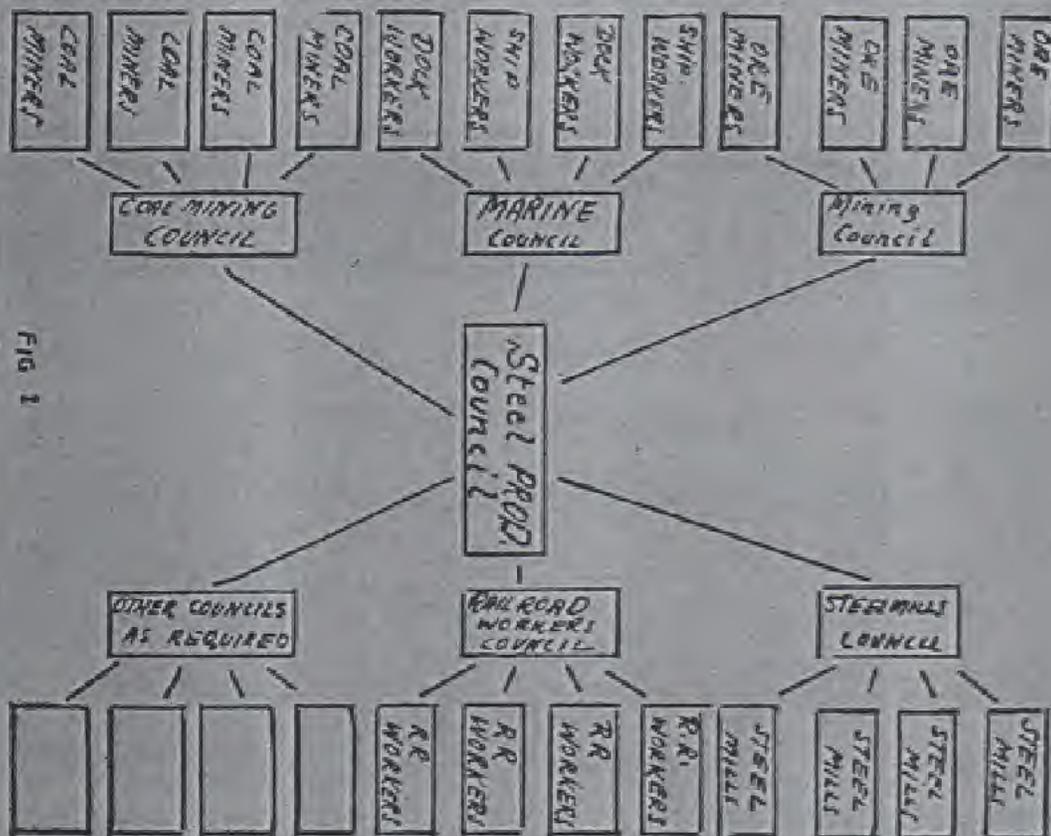
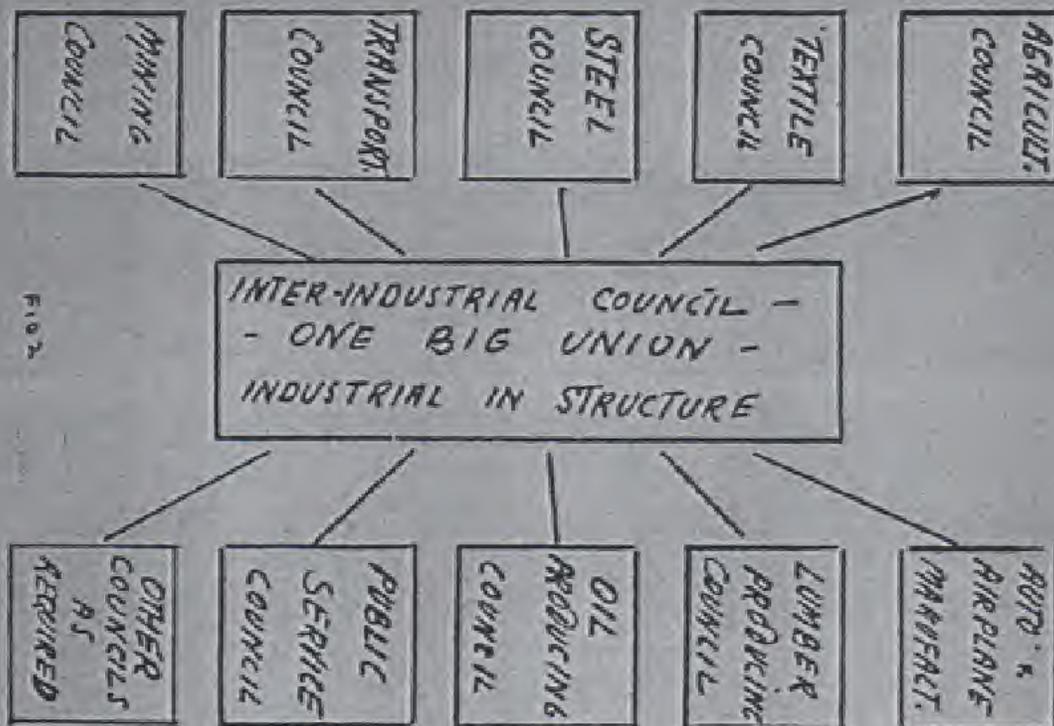


FIG 1

This would also be an up-to-date industrial union squaring up with the mode of production if an autonomous industrial union were desired. We are convinced, however, that the CLASS union must be formed and not the individual industrial union. Therefore we propose the Inter-Industrial Council.



The several Industrial Committees (councils) would create the Inter-Industrial Council, a direct organic setup from the very shop to the last link in the whole industrial and social fabric, the entire producing and distributing mechanism upon which life depends.

This brings the One Big Union into an industrial structure without separate industrial unions. The Inter-Industrial Council is the Class Union, industrial in structure, when finally complete.

In this way every worker belongs to one and the same union. It is always "his" or "her" Union or "their" Union. "Our" Union is still better stated.

If an employer attacks the Union, he attacks the workers' union and all feel the necessity of coming to the defense of their own union.

In the past, the answer on the part of organized workers has been: "It is not MY union that is on strike", "I have nothing to do with that union", "It is not trying to serve or protect ME"; in other words "It is the other workers' union that is attacked and I have no direct interest in it".

When all workers are in One Big Union and in one only, it becomes a different story. One Big Union tries to protect all, to serve all, and is therefore a direct concern to each and every worker, no matter in what industry he or she may be engaged, here or a thousand miles away.

One Big Union seeks to bring every worker into its ranks. It would in this way eliminate the unorganized labor supply where the employers now recruit strikebreakers or "scabs" to browbeat the organized workers and force them into submission. With One Big Union, there'd BE NO SCABS. The employing class, themselves, would have to attempt to break strikes or else concede to the demands of the workers.

As we start to organize the workers into One Big Union we bring

about an organizing instrument. As the membership becomes larger and larger the instrument becomes more and more effective, increasing its power and ability to bring all workers into the Union. In fact, no worker could remain outside of it. The organized workers would refuse to work with any others. The employers would have to deal with a union of this kind as they could not run the industries with only a few unorganized workers. This would bring about Union Recognition without the necessity of making such a demand. We would need no certificate of organization from the employers. Conditions of the workers would improve as the Union is more and more completed and demands for improvements made according to the strength generated at the time.

One Big Union, however, will seek absolute security to the means of life for all. In order to accomplish this it must acquire and hold the means of production and distribution, the resources, and in fact, the entire industrial mechanism upon which modern life depends. Security for all is its goal. This would mean a new social order of production for use instead of profit.

One Big Union can enforce its decisions to shorten the work day when sufficient workers are within its ranks. We, ourselves, would decide our working time and enforce our decisions.

We would also compel the installation of safety appliances wherever and whenever needed for our own well being. We would also regulate the speed of the machines to safeguard our lives and health and security while working. Reducing the speed of the machine reduces the profits of the boss and in this way the machine also becomes a tool — a powerful leverage against the boss — to further the interests of the working class.

A minimum wage demand can also be enforced by all refusing to work for less than the demand, or to give labor only equivalent to the remuneration received. Raising the social level of the hardest driven workers should be our first consideration as soon as enough strength has been generated to enforce our demands. Unemployment can be reduced by shortening the work day or work week to meet the requirement that all can take part in the processes of the means of life. One Big Union can do this as it will have strength enough to enforce its decisions.

TOWN COUNCILS

We also must consider the Class Union from a city or town council basis.

Many industries are purely local industries and serve local interests. These cannot be considered in a national industrial council lineup. A street car system is no bigger than its last rail and serves only the community in which it is located. Gas plants, electric light plants, water supply systems, garbage disposal, schools, etc. are purely local in character and would be much more so under a system of production for use. In fact, many industries would revert to that type under production for use. Therefore we must give allowance to local town councils, and from that to larger groupings of towns as they may be in close proximity to each other and are therefore connected by circumstances of joint services essential to the locality.

An ALL WORKERS council of all town councils on a national basis is therefore possible and very probable.

This is mentioned so as to be able to take advantage of and give allowance to the best possible expression and representation of One Big Union.

It cannot be straight jacketed or travel in just one groove.

All these councils in whatever form of representation and possibly

duplication in some instances — as best serves the need of the workers — are always within the One Union and never step outside its jurisdiction or boundary.

REGARDING WAGE DEMANDS

As we look over a long period of history of various unions, trade or industrial, we find that all of them act in about the same manner regarding the presentation of wage demands.

Practically all of them ask for different wage rates for various kinds of skill and so-called skill in industry; different rates for different machines, and in many cases different schedules for laborers and helpers. Clinging to the old ways, afraid that the workers would not stick together if only a minimum rate were to be demanded. This condition still exists to the present day.

Even the progressive industrial unions in their history of over forty-five years are no exception to this except in isolated instances. Wage rates differing as much as from 50 per cent to 100 per cent were made for laborers and mechanics. This makes for special privileges, vested interests for a few, and makes for sectional groups.

About the first deviation from the above program was made by the Longshoremen's Union, a part of the I. W. W., in 1913. This occurred in the eastern industrial area; Philadelphia, Pa. This union demanded a single wage rate from its very inception, of thirty cents an hour for all classes of labor with extra pay for overtime and other general improvements. This rate of pay was to apply to all from truckers to deckmen and hatchtenders.

Many, yes, most of the better paid workers resented a single or "one wage" demand since they were accustomed to great differences and considerations. Some stevedores made an offer and were willing to pay even more for the few deckmen than was demanded but wanted a reduction for the rest of the workers (the many). They (the employers) wanted this because it would involve a lesser amount of wages in the aggregate and also drive a wedge so that a few of the workers would help to check the great majority. An employer can easily afford to pay a few workers well so that they will then help to keep the many in place.

E. J. Lewis, the organizer of this union in 1913, in a speech to the union said: "All of you pay the same price for bread and meat, shoes and other necessities of life. No merchant gives a worker merchandise cheaper because he gets less wages. All of you have a belly to feed and those of you whose work is hardest need the most food (most fuel) to keep up steam, since more energy is expended". "Stick together, boys! Together you can raise your social level. Different wage rates make for division among workers. Give one or a few workers in the union more wages than the rest and he or they think themselves so much better and superior to the rest and therefore want increased special consideration at the expense of the rest of the members of the union".

Prior to this demand on the part of the union the truckers (wharfmen) were paid 20 cents an hour, holemen 25 cents an hour, deckmen 27 to 30 cents, (depending upon the stevedore) while a few extra good men received 35 cents an hour. Here you can see the different classification and differences in wages.

After considerable pow-wow the one single minimum demand was insisted upon and won. Even the waterboys and riggers were included in it. If a boss wanted to pay more he could do so. However, none of them did.

In February, 1915, an effort was made to get a special rate for grain by a sectional group and it just about wrecked the union. Later on, extra pay was demanded for powder and oil due to extra hazards. Potential danger! This made for sectionalism and was a thorn in the path of real progress. A single rate on a respective cargo, however, was never deviated from. All were paid alike (waterboy, deckmen, riggers) in a gang, no matter what each one did.

A severe racial difference had also to be broken down that no other part of the I. W. W. had ever been confronted with since this union's membership was composed of 60 per cent negroes and 40 per cent whites. A serious nationalistic problem had also to be met, due to many members coming from NEW BORN nations after the World War. Religious differences were also very marked. Yet in spite of all this, this union in the I. W. W. maintained itself during and after the war; a steady force from 1913 to 1922 continually forging ahead as no other union did within the I. W. W. A minimum wage of eighty cents an hour for all had already been achieved by December, 1919.

One outstanding thing that kept them together was a single wage rate on the respective cargo. Together we can go ahead, divided into groups we are doomed, was the continual note.

Since the I. W. W. is off the waterfront in Philadelphia (1923) the truckers and carloaders get much less. Only the holermen and deckmen get the I. L. A. schedule or union wages. The holermen with the few deckmen are now really the union. The rest have been sacrificed although they are the majority. The highest paid workers get it again at the expense of the rest. The speed-up is much greater. The best men now get but very little time so they are also losing by this system.

In the next instance only a minimum rate demand was made in the middle west in 1915 by the newly formed Agricultural Workers Organization No. 400 of the I. W. W. whose elected Secretary was a member of the Longshoremen's Union in Philadelphia in the Fall of 1914 and Spring of 1915 and who had worked on the waterfront during that period. He had seen the single wage rate in operation and was therefore able to explain that phase of tactics to a militant workers' organization.

Many members of the A. W. O. wanted to ask \$7.00 for separator men, \$6.00 for engineers on threshing machines, \$5.00 for firemen, \$4.00 for spikepitchers and \$3.00 for the rest of the harvest workers, the great majority. Mostly because the workers were so used to having such large differences in wages, therefore they believed it necessary for them to do likewise. The bosses always paid a few workers well so that they in return would help to check and drive the great majority.

After considerable discussion the single minimum rate carried the day and was given a trial in the early summer of 1915, was continued in 1916 and also in 1917.

Raising the social level of the hardest driven workers is our first need. Reduce the great inequality (differentiations) among the workers then better harmony and better understanding will be possible.

The I. W. W. criticized the trade unions up to this date for always looking out for only a few rather than the many. If that criticism was in order then we must also change to looking out for the many instead of the few.

One Big Union must start from the bottom. Raise the social level up to the better paid workers as fast as possible with strength and courage at hand. Then all together raise our standards to the full product of labor's toil. (Labor's producing ingenuity.)

The A. W. O. No. 400 in the winter of 1915-1916 made only one minimum wage demand. That was in the lumber industry of Minnesota and Wisconsin, yet many of the better paid woodsmen joined that organization during the winter. They realized that if the "bottom" is lifted then they may also get more wages or at least retain their present working conditions which otherwise might have been reduced.

It is essential to reduce rather than to increase the differentiation from laborer's to mechanic's wage rates, to get greater solidarity, harmony and understanding. As interests become more unified the workers solidarity increases since they are affected alike. We want to do away with classes and castes! Why not start at home and practice some of it?

In some industries wages are so standardized that there is very little difference. It might as well be eliminated altogether by a class union and get greater solidarity among the members, instead of see-sawing back and forth regarding wage demands.

As a matter of fact, some of the better paid workers are only the pace setters and drivers for the boss:

The fact that the A. W. O. No. 400 made only a single minimum wage demand did not prevent nor deter workers who received much more from joining that union. Many railroad engineers and conductors and other well paid tradesmen joined it. Miners, construction workers, lumber workers and many others lined up. If the social level of the lower paid worker is raised then the standards of the better paid as well may be enhanced. At least it is not lowered as it might otherwise be.

The A. W. O. approach of 1915-1917 therefore was correct for a Class Union to protect the bottom and raise the social level of the lowest strata. It is still correct in 1936. It should be adhered to by an organization trying or intending to defend workers interests.

Different wage rates make for special privileges leaving the least skilled and the greatest number of workers in the rear. The reason most advanced for so doing is that the boss is unwilling to pay all workers alike. The best rates are generally made first and then on down and when the unskilled or helpers are considered the brake of the skilled workers is applied to make the bottom rate within reason (not too high).

These are trade union (A. F. of L.) policies to get most for the so-called skilled workers (very important members in key positions) and to sacrifice the many, thereby keeping them in place, for the boss.

AS TO STRIKES

For more than half a century many aggressive unionists have looked upon strikes primarily as a means of organizing the workers. The idea was to take all that could be gained at the time but by all means keep the union and at once organize for more strength for the next struggle for new gains. They advocated short strikes. Many small gains outstrip a comparatively large gain at a given time.

The other type of unionists were more concerned with getting better

conditions at all costs, even at the expense of sacrificing the union. They were, and are, still afraid that the workers would not pay their dues, would not stick to their union unless conditions were obtained for their respective workers. They, therefore, usually refuse to consent to the strike being called off after gaining a small demand. They also accept the theory that the workers would flock to the Industrial union if the Industrial union could show them how much more they could obtain. This, however, has never materialized. It has turned out to be an illusion. Even the I. W. W. has had a similar experience.

The first group has stated over and over, again and again, that if the workers were organized properly they could gain concessions from the employing class by increasing or decreasing the productivity of the industries. "Strike on the job" was one of their slogans. "Enforce safety rules, Safety First" was another. This, however, means nothing if done sporadically or without method. It must be done in an organized manner with precision and method. It may be applied for a day, a few days, a week, and then return to the old method for a brief period and then again applied. Applied again and again to test the machine — the organized machine. This is a test of how effectively your organized power can operate. It must also have a purpose in view or it merely becomes a general nuisance.

All unions use the strike as a weapon to stop industry, to compel the boss to come to terms; and as soon as the boss concedes the demands of the workers they at once proceed to operate the industries again. The speed and effectiveness with which the Union can apply the stopping and the starting of industry is the relative power it has to that of the employer. Through it the share of production that labor receives is determined today.

A strike on the job is the application of decreasing and increasing the productivity of industry by organized effort of the workers in industry. Production is not entirely stopped. It may be curtailed 10 per cent or 20 per cent or as determined by the workers. The workers do not walk out of the shops and factories and leave them for the scabs to come in and operate. Ah, no. The organized workers only work slower and gear the machine to a slower speed so that less merchandise will be produced. Applying safety rules to the minutest detail invariably also produces that result.

This form of strike is the most effective, once understood; but the workers must be well organized and understand its philosophy.

It cannot be carried on spasmodically, as stated before, but must be applied for short periods and then production again increased as if nothing had occurred. Then it must be again applied if no concessions are made until the desired result has been accomplished. In this way the machine becomes a weapon as well as a tool in the hands of the working class.

When workers are unorganized and dissatisfied they usually strike by leaving the shops, then elect a strike committee to present demands to the boss. These demands are usually made on notions and impulses not in accordance with strength developed and, therefore, in many instances out of proportion to organized power, failing, therefore, in most cases.

Organizers generally have no faith that workers will stick just after being organized and usually insist upon holding out to the bitter end to gain larger concessions and to get UNION RECOGNITION, above all else.

Workers should and must be taught, however, to generate strength, organized strength, POWER, and demands upon their respective employers in proportion to that strength, and not to rely upon outside support that may be obtained. In this way workers learn to rely upon themselves.

Making minor demands is in no way a sign of meekness, weakness or conservatism, when made in accordance to the strength generated by a CLASS union, but is rather a sign of understanding of social forces and the respective strength of the opposing sides. A Class Union strives for strength, organized power of all workers first — to protect itself and to promote its interests. Demands in the ORGANIZING stage of the Class Union are subjective to the strength and not the reverse.

ORGANIZE STRENGTH! WIN DEMANDS! HOLD THE GAINS! ORGANIZE FOR GREATER STRENGTH TO GET NEW GAINS! HOLD THEM! GENERATE MORE POWER AS FAST AS POSSIBLE TO CLASS POWER should be our procedure. This in order to overcome exploitation of man by man.

A Class Union, therefore, must be built. This is an organization to which all workers are directly eligible, regardless of where they work or what they may do. Skilled and unskilled alike. Organized in this way and understanding the strike in proper relation to the Class Union, ONE BIG UNION, they will soon become a powerful instrument, applying its power where the livelihood is made for the workers and the employing class.

The workers here are invincible because the boss needs them and here they can determine the living standards of both classes.

If the boss allows only starvation wages then the workers might also produce only enough to keep themselves, thereby cutting off the profits for the boss. If the workers must accept misery then they might as well cut off the boss as well from the good things of life.

"We are just as good as you, Mr. Boss". "We came into this world alike".

"All are supposed to be free and equal, therefore we have just as much right to live as you have, Mr. Boss", should be our attitude.

A Class Union ONLY, can bring organized pressure of all workers, and wring improvements for all from the ruling class today. Organization — therefore organized power — is the imperative need.

When the workers are organized into One Big Union and learn to use the industries as a weapon to wrest concessions from the master class as well as to produce effectively; then the working class is well on the road to a better social system. When they are completely organized they will be in a position to use their strength to eliminate Capitalism and to operate the industries for the new social order.

The GENERAL STRIKE so much talked about must be a GENERAL LOOKOUT of the employing class and not the desertion of the industries by the workers. On the contrary, the workers must take and hold the industries at all costs and operate them against all hazards for USE only and not for profit for the few.

The Capitalists never release or relax their organizing for power but try to increase it in order to hold what they have and to increase exploitation to still higher degrees. They do not advocate disorganizing of strength among themselves as many radicals do or advocate organizing of small groups (Independents). Instead, they merge and merge into bigger combinations to solidify their power and safeguard their interests.

To meet this kind of ruling class, only a continual organized power and pressure of all workers as a whole can hope to gain any results.

When the workers have learned to go back to work in the industries as soon as organized and then make demands through a shop committee or industrial council, they will then carry out the real functions of union men

and women in the most logical way and in true relation to present day society. When organized in a big way the leaving of industries is not needed but would be suicidal. The industries must be acquired and held to get access to the means of life and this cannot be done by leaving them. Strikes should be short and sweet, and when used primarily to generate power will have most value and be most lasting. ORGANIZE FOR POWER and make strikes subjective thereto.

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

With Shop Councils the greatest democratic control of industrial affairs can be well established. The workers, once organized, vote through the shops where they work, expressing their direct needs in industry for today as well as for tomorrow.

All matters pertaining to the particular shop the workers are engaged in can be settled directly through that shop committee or council.

All matters pertaining to and concerning the industry as a whole can be settled only through the respective industrial council.

Whatever becomes a general concern of all workers throughout all industries — a class issue — must be considered by the inter-industrial council of all workers of the whole union.

In this way a most democratic control by the workers is possible directly at the point of production, since most functionary jobs would be eliminated. The setup of control is within the industry and not outside of it. The latter would only cause outside interference.

The unemployed, belonging to the same union with the employed and grouped together through an unemployed council are in direct contact with the industrial councils and inter-industrial council and are thus able to discuss the problems as they are affected by them. Unemployment is a CLASS problem and must be considered as such.

Fellow-workers, the foregoing is a brief outline of our conception of ONE BIG UNION in formation and in it's possible development. We do not claim that it is 100% perfect or that it must be just as we have outlined it, but that it can and must be modified to meet requirements as we go along. We submit this to you not only as a possible formation but also as it could be in operation when completed.

The One Big Union Club does not want a One Big Union just to create an institution nor do we want it for an idol or symbol. But we do want One Big Union of all workers as an instrument — as a tool and a weapon only — to bring home the bacon — the things we are after.

If you, who read this, like the idea, join us and help to advocate it more effectively in an organized way. Even if it is acceptable to you only in part. Let us get your idea so that it also can be presented as soon as possible.

Join us and do it today. Be a trail blazer to help put the One Big Union across.

For further information address

Address: ONE BIG UNION CLUB

George Carey, Secretary

242 East 14th Street,

New York City.